2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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biis—we are the children of one father', when they want to stress recent common ancestry, or '*ti a yaab yɛni biis*—we are the children of one ancestor', whenever they emphasize remote common ancestry. The same contrast is expressed in the appellations *dug* (room) and *yir* (house). Members of lineage V, for example, will speak of themselves as *dugdɛm* (members of one room) by contrast with members of lineage W, whom they would describe as *ti yidɛm* (people of our house). Members of X will say 'We, the children of so and so (F.IV.1), are four rooms', but they will speak of themselves as *dugdɛm* in contrast to Y, who would be called their *yidɛm*, e.g. at funeral ceremonies. Thus the segments of X or of Y are closer *sunzɔp* than are X and Y, which, again, are closer *sunzɔp* than are the major segments of the maximal lineage. A specially close tie is acknowledged also between lineages of common agnatic ancestry which have a common ancestress. Thus, if F.V.1 had three wives, from whom have sprung, respectively, segments $a+b$ and c, $d+e$, and f, then the first two segments regard each other as closer *sunzɔp* than either of the other two.

Genealogical distance and the tie of brotherhood (*sunzɔt*) are most palpable in situations which bring out the structural equilibrium of the set of lineages. When, for instance, a funeral occurs in lineage g, contributions of cooked food will be made by the *sunzɔp* as follows: by the head of $h+i$, the closest *sunzɔ* segment, on behalf of that segment; by the head of W on behalf of the whole lineage, not by its constituent segments, the contribution being given to its *sunzɔ* V, not to the segment g; and by the head of X, if it is the funeral of an elder, on behalf of the whole of X, when the recipient unit is considered to be Y, not g. If the other half of the maximal lineage, Major Segment II, sends a contribution, it will be given by the head of the segment on behalf of the whole unit as an obligation owed to the *sunzɔ* segment, the house of F.I.1. Cooked food, beer, and the meat of ceremonially slaughtered animals are distributed according to the same scale of genealogical distance, and the allocation of ritual duties, though less strictly regulated, depends on it, too. Hence any members of W who may be present at the funeral are regarded as representing W, however many segments of W they may individually represent. They are entitled only to those portions of food, beer, and meat which are the due share of W. An identical share can be claimed by members of X who may be present, whether they come from one of its segments or from all; and the same holds for the major segments of the maximal lineage. *Sunzɔt* here implies duties and privileges vested in the lineage as a corporate unit and exercised on its behalf by any representatives of that unit in relation to other units of a like sort.

There are many other institutions and situations in which the tie of *sunzɔt* operates in the same way and receives precise and formal recognition according to the same rules. It operates thus in all corporate actions and in relation to all corporate interests of a lineage. It dictates the manner in which every activity associating people in groups is organized. Hoeing and building teams organize their work broadly along the lines of the lineage structure and distribute the food they receive in reward in accordance with it. In a hunting party lineage *sunzɔp* have the right to

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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602 The usual range of effective uterine kinship is a good illustration of the correlation between spatial relationships and genealogical relationships in the social space of the individual. The physical range of the individual's social contacts and communication with others is, as we have already noted, a function of his range of social relations, which is determined principally by his genealogical connexions. In the days before the establishment of the British peace, matrilateral, and especially uterine kinship, played a very important part in enabling people to travel outside their normal range of social contacts, and so to build up social relations with members of clans usually inaccessible to their own clansmen. A story will illustrate how this occurred.

602 574 484 When the Gorogo-Yikpɛmdaana was a young man of 17 or 18, sometime during the first decade of this century, a food shortage approaching famine, such as periodically swept the country, descended on the Tallensi. He decided to make a journey to Gbimis, in Mampurugu, across the White Volta, in order to barter some livestock for grain. But such a journey was full of peril. A Talǝŋ wandering in Mampurugu would be set upon and killed or taken as a slave by any armed Mamprusi who encountered him. So he went, first, to a *soog* at Pwalagu. This man escorted him across the river to another *soog* living in a small village there, and this *soog* conducted him to Gbimis. Under the safe conduct of his Mampuru *saarǝt* he was able to carry out his project. In later years he often made this trip to Mampurugu to buy things for resale in the small markets of Taleland.

Though people can travel where they will in freedom and security nowadays, it is still usual for anyone having business of a ritual or jural kind with a distant or unfamiliar clan to follow the web of uterine kinship thither. The route is much curtailed, but the principle remains. If Banǝrǝg's wife's brother, a Sakpee man, has such business at Bongo, he will probably go to his *saarǝt* at Zuarungu, stay the night with them, go on next morning to a *soog* at Yaraga, and find out from him or her if they have a *soog* at Bongo with whom he could stay and who will guide him and act as his spokesman with *his* clansmen.

602 476 431 In the same way uterine kin assist one another in economic matters. A man who loses time in his farming programme through illness will often ask a *soog* from a neighbouring settlement to come and do a day's hoeing for him where he would not ask for such help from a clansman. Again, crops do not ripen at the same time throughout Taleland. There may be an interval of several days or several weeks between the harvest at Sii and the harvest at Datɔk. It is the custom, at harvest time, especially at the time of the early millet harvest after the hungry months, for people living in areas that have a late harvest to 'beg (*soh*)' gifts of grain from relatives living in early harvesting areas. Later, when the early harvesting settlements have exhausted their supplies, people will go to kinsfolk in later harvesting areas to beg for grain to tide them

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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over. Such reciprocal gifts pass between kinsmen of all categories. But the giving is specially generous and cordial between *soog* kin.

In keeping with the unrestricted range of cognatic kinship among the Tallensi, the close ties of kinship between male *saarət* are extended to their children and sometimes to their grandchildren. With men whose fathers were *saarət*, whether they belong to the same clan or not, the formal ties of kinship are often mellowed by the affection and trust of a friendship like that of their fathers. This is rarer with grandsons of male *saarət*, but not unknown. I have seen a man break down with grief over the death of a clansman who was his father's *soog*'s son. He would have felt no sense of personal loss at all if this extra bond had not existed between him and his dead clansman. Again, there was Tiezien of Kpata'ar's lifelong friendship with his father's *soog*'s son at Zuarungu—a friendship which would not normally have arisen between a Taləŋ and a Gorəŋ living eight miles apart.

A link of uterine kinship is often used to define the relations of individuals who are not themselves directly related by kinship. A typical case that shows how far the classificatory principle can be pressed, if there is a *soog* link in the chain of relationships connecting two people, is the following. Zaawɔmya of Bunkiuk began courting the young widow of a Wakii man. But in the course of making inquiries he discovered that the girl's late husband's father's mother and his own mother had been distant *saarət*. Zaawɔmya concluded, therefore, that the girl's late husband's father would have stood to him in the relationship of an 'older brother' (*bier*), since he would have called the latter's mother his 'mother' (*ma*). Hence the girl's husband would have been his 'son' (*bii*) and the girl herself his 'daughter-in-law' (*sampɔɣa*). 'Well just think of it', he said to me, when he told me the story, 'how can a man marry his daughter-in-law? So I gave it up.' When Mansami, Ɔmara's own father's brother's son ran away with the wife of Ɔmara's father's *soog*'s son at Dkoog, there was a bitter quarrel between them. Ɔmara accused Mansami of disgracing his (Ɔmara's) kinship ties and ordered him either to give up the girl or leave the homestead. Mansami, obstinately insisting that he and the girl's husband were not related, made this the pretext for keeping her and went off to stay with his mother's brother. Such roundabout connexions through a *soog* link are often exploited for ulterior motives. A common trick of fathers who object to a daughter's marrying a particular man is to allege a remote kinship tie of this sort between the girl and her suitor. The latter and his family head may be sceptical of the alleged evidence for this but they can do nothing about it.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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decorate the walls, and stamping the floors into smooth, hard surfaces are all women's work. According to its size and the number of workers available, from the commencement to the final touches, it takes from three weeks to two months of intermittent but often strenuous labour to build a homestead. This falls chiefly on its future occupants. All the members of the family, including the children, lend a hand. But co-members of the owner's clan, especially of his own local segment and their wives, as well as kinsmen, affines, and friends, lend their services too, and this involves considerable expenditure of foodstuffs to reward them.

Again, substantial as they are, Tale houses are not impervious to the weather, with its drastic alternation of great heat and drought and heavy rains. After a couple of years the soaking rains of July and August begin to wear the walls away, rot the thatch, and pit the floors. A man who wants to keep his homestead in trim condition must do some repairs every dry season. New rooms may be added from time to time, if the family grows in numbers, or old rooms allowed to fall in if it diminishes. With such alterations and repairs, a homestead may stand for a generation. In the older settlements many sites have been occupied for two or three generations continuously, the homesteads having been completely rebuilt, bit by bit, several times during this period.

Building a new homestead is an outstanding event in the life of its owner and a matter of public attention. It always marks a significant change in a man's status—his economic and jural emancipation from minority, or his attainment of eldership high up in the lineage hierarchy. Hence it requires moral sanction and ritual precautions. As we have seen, it also mobilizes all the basic social ties a man has. The house itself, embodying the labour and care of himself, his family, and many of his relatives by blood and marriage, stands as a monument to the efficacy of these social ties.

We can see why the Tale homestead, looked at merely from the architectural aspect, is the material projection of the social relations that make up the domestic family. All Tale homesteads have the same architectural pattern, just as all Tale domestic families have the same basic structure. Only in one point of style and construction do Tale homesteads differ in type, and this is not a question of taste. The Tallensi have two kinds of roofs, a conical thatched roof lashed on to a frame of rafters, and a flat roof of beaten pile supported on a ceiling of strong rafters. The thatch roof is the easier to make and the most common. But nearly every thatched homestead has at least one flat-roofed room (*pii*), as a matter both of convention and of utility. It is the scene of many activities in the dry season. Men, women, and children sit or sprawl on the roof to rest, to chat, or when they are busy with some sedentary task such as sewing or spinning. Grain, vegetables, and edible leaves are spread out to dry there. On

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cause of such brawls is women. A man sees a man of another clan talking to the wife of a member of his inner or medial lineage—or even to the wife of a distant clansman of his. He suspects the couple of plotting the woman's abduction and accuses them of this. In a few minutes clansmen of the two disputants who happen to be near come to their support; and so a brawl may ensue.

But where the ideal of the equality and solidarity of siblings is most apparent in social relations outside the inner lineage, is in the institutionalized co-operation of lineages and lineage segments. It is most conspicuous in important ceremonial and ritual matters such as funerals or changes in the custody of lineage shrines. But it emerges also in jural affairs such as marriage transactions and reconciliation ceremonies. The maxim 'Brothers look after one's affairs (*Sunzɔp mmaan yɛla*)' sums this up for the native. Thus, as we have described in our previous book,[1] at funeral ceremonies all the *sunzɔ* lineages of the group celebrating the funeral are bound to be present, and it is the representatives of these lineages that supervise and mostly take the lead in the various rites. When Kpe'emi died, the messengers bearing the sad tidings did not go straight home to his father. They went first to an elder of a different section (*yizug*) of the clan; he took them to the head of a segment of Kpe'emi's section different from that to which Kpe'emi belonged; and this man took them to the head of Kpe'emi's segment, who conducted them to Kpe'emi's father. Thus the blow was softened by the presence, the condolences, and the immediate ritual action of *sunzɔp* of different degrees. Similarly, if a man seduces a clansman's wife, he appeals not to his own immediate lineage head but to the head of an inner or medial lineage closely related to his to intercede on his behalf. The reciprocal of these and similar acts of assistance given to *sunzɔp* is the strictly defined rights of *sunzɔp* lineages to certain shares of sacrificial or ceremonial meat, beer, flour, and so forth. But the Tallensi do not regard these rights as rewards for 'looking after' the affairs of a *sunzɔ*. The rights and the duties coexist as equally essential features of the relationship of 'brother' lineages.

As these examples show, there are, in fact, no person-to-person social relations between individuals who are only clan-siblings of the same quality as sibling relations in the narrow sense. Their solidarity is a consequence of the general solidarity of the clan in situations affecting the common interest. Thus clan-brothers have no property relations *qua* clansmen. But the chief distinction between clan and inner lineage siblings lies in the sphere of sex. As we are aware, sexual relations with clan sisters outside the medial lineage are not regarded as disgraceful, and to have sexual relations with a distant clansman's wife is considered to be adultery, not incest. Tallensi, thinking of these matters in their inveterate socio-spatial terminology, say that clan siblings are 'too far'

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, pp. 215 ff.

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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of time reflected in the growing up of children and the aging of parents, bring about changes which materially affect the food economy.

THE UNIT OF FOOD ECONOMY. Food is produced and consumed by what we shall call the unit of food economy. The following table, derived from the data for the 40 randomly selected compounds mentioned previously, shows the relation between this unit and those we have already described.

Compounds		*Gateways*	*Units of food economy*	*Households*	*Primary families*	*Productive men*	*Women*
Total .	40	56	58	77	114	107	124
Ratio .		1	1	1·4	2·0	1·9	2·2

	Children
Total .	132
Ratio .	2·4

A unit of food economy thus corresponds, generally, to a single gateway,[1] and comprises more than one household. The man at the head of this unit holds the land from which it derives the major part of its sustenance and organizes the exploitation of this land. The productive men (i.e. those capable of agricultural labour, including boys over 15) jointly cultivate this land; the women and children jointly assist in sowing it and in such duties as scaring birds from the standing crops. At harvest time the men and boys cut the grain, women and girls carry it home in baskets. The head of the unit supervises the sorting of the grain, and is responsible for the selection and preservation of seed. He sees to the storage of the grain—the seed separately and specially carefully, the grain for consumption in the granary. The ground-nut crop is similarly handled by co-operative labour. It is a maxim that those who work together share the products of their labour. This applies not only to joint labour in the fields, but to the division of labour between the sexes and generations. Upon the men falls the most arduous agricultural labour, but the women have equally exacting duties connected with the preparation of food

[1] The two units of food economy in excess of the number of gateways represent pairs of full brothers who were economically independent of each other, but continued to occupy the same compound for kinship reasons. Four other units of food economy were in process of splitting up at the time the census was taken.

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PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
Hoeing and weeding of compound and bush farms in full swing. Some still planting subsidiary crops. Poultry breeding begins.	planting areas come to beg grain.[1] Wild fruits still eaten and hunger prevalent in late-planting areas. Ground-nuts, beginning to ripen, plucked and chewed as snacks.
AUGUST: Late planters harvest early millet. Invited collective labour (*kpaarip*) for hoeing and weeding coming to fore, but hired labour still in evidence.[2] Fresh hibiscus leaves used in soup.	Almost everybody has early millet; hunger appeased for a time.

[1] The different settlements harvest at such different times corresponding to their times of planting that more than a month elapses between the beginning of the harvest at one end of Tale-land, and its conclusion at the other end. This gives rise to a system of reciprocities the effect of which is to cancel out the lag to some extent. People from the late-planting settlements visit their relatives in the early-planting settlements as soon as these begin to harvest and receive gifts of early millet from them. Women, especially, go thus to visit their parental homes, and no man would send his daughter or sister away empty-handed. Later, when the early-harvesting settlements begin to reach the end of their early millet stores, the process is reversed. The Tallensi never think of this in terms of economic interchange or reciprocal payments. They insist that *A* gives to *B* freely and without expectation of return because *B* is *A*'s daughter. Later, when *B*'s husband harvests his millet he will send some to *A* freely—because *A* is his father-in-law. It is significant that these mutual 'good turns' always occur between people of different settlements, not between patrilineal kin of the same settlement.

[2] Soon after early millet has been brought in, the elders and others who have had a good crop begin to 'invite hoemen' (*pook kpaarip*). An elder sends round to all the compounds of his section (a sub-division of a clan settlement) requesting the young men to come out and weed his farms, compound or bush, for him on the following day. As no one would be so ill-mannered or so negligent of a kinsman's duties as to refuse, some 20 or 30 young men turn out next day. The one who issued the invitation recompenses them with two meals, flour-water (*zomkwom*) at noon and a lavish cooked meal at night. Thus commences a round of collective weeding, as every farmer who can afford the 20 or 30 lb. of grain and the meat for feeding them in turn invites his kinsmen and neighbours to come and weed for him. Others have to hire foreign labour to the best of their capacity. The Tallensi account for this institution firstly on the ground that it is only by such a mass attack that the rapidly growing weeds can be kept under, and secondly on the ground that it relieves the strain of unremitting toil in the fields and increases the crops.

Gifts to relatives and feeding collective labour are a considerable strain on a man's granary at this time, though, in the long run, much of it comes back. Reliable informants told us that half of their total crop was expended thus, leaving them short of millet in September.

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PRODUCTIVE CYCLE	FOOD CYCLE
ting grass and timber for roofing, handicraft work. Young men begin to go abroad temporarily.[1]	ported maize, plentiful and cheap at market.
FEBRUARY: As in January.	Grain issued for only one meal a day. Many purchasing grain rather than use up their own supplies. Ground-nuts and cow-peas regular and important supplements to cereal food. Women finding grain to augment supplies, by trading, etc. Market supplies still plentiful, prices average.
MARCH: As in February. Sporadic cleaning of fields and hoeing.	Grain supplies sinking and more carefully rationed. Children and women gleaning ground-nuts to stop hunger. People going to Mampuru and Nabte countries to purchase grain for re-sale. Grain still plentiful in market, also other products, e.g. yams (imported).[2]

[1] This month of plenitude marks the peak of the food cycle. Soon supplies diminish again; men who are setting up compounds of their own commence building operations; but almost every compound requires some repairs. House-building and thatching are crafts in which a great many men have no skill. They therefore have to invite (*yaal*) neighbours or relatives who have the skill to carry out the repairs for them; and these have to be generously fed in recompense. A new house, again, is built co-operatively with the aid of kinsmen, relatives and friends, who also have to be generously fed.

With this further drain on his grain stores, the head of a unit of food economy has to go warily. Hence in spite of the ample and cheap grain available in the market, he begins to reduce the ration of grain he distributes to his dependants. In February the rationing gets stricter, for it is essential to keep a reserve against the first month of the rains ' to strengthen one ' against the greater demands upon one's energy made by agricultural labour. They say this explains why those who can afford it buy grain for immediate consumption. Finally, just before the rains, supplies are sinking to the minimum which will be reached in the month preceeding the early millet harvest, with the usual effect of causing visits to neighbouring areas in search of grain to purchase.

The temporary migration of young men is more fully dealt with in a paper by M. Fortes, ' Culture Contact as a Dynamic Process ', *Africa*, IX. 1, 1936.

[2] We have, in the above table, emphasized the place of cereals in the cycle because they constitute the staple food of the Tallensi; and as we are concerned with the domestic economy of food, we have referred to the market only in order

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for firewood. A woman with a small child never omits to cook a little for it, whatever the circumstances. The cooking routine also becomes upset under the stress of seasonal activities. When a whole family goes to work at a bush farm or to a fishing expedition, some groundnuts or dry guinea-corn is taken along to chew, and no cooking will be done until evening.

Each woman is responsible for the provision of meals for her husband and family. In certain situations co-wives co-operate for the common good. Thus when building operations take place, or a man has hired or 'invited' labour the co-wives cook in turn to provide food for the men. On such occasions the owner of the granary allots a special share of grain for the labourers' porridge to the woman whose turn it is to cook for them.

Mutual assistance between co-wives occurs only when a woman is confined or ill. Then her co-wife (a wife of her husband or his brother) cooks for her and her family. The confined woman provides her own produce and firewood and the cooking is done in her kitchen. This is the duty and prerogative of co-wives. Only as a last resort would the husband's mother or sister cook for her in those circumstances. When a young wife shares her mother-in-law's quarters she does all the household tasks; but when she shares those of a senior wife, they assist each other and cook in turn.

The standard meal of the Tallensi is *sayub ni xiet*, meal porridge and soup. Porridge is prepared of flour and, depending upon the season and what a man has in his grain-store, it is made of early millet, guinea-corn or late millet. Sometimes also maize (generally purchased) or cow-peas or rice is used. When root crops are in season they are cooked instead of porridge, but not because porridge becomes monotonous to the Tallensi, or they wish to vary the diet (see Appendix), it is done in order to make the grain last longer. 'Porridge is food, it makes you strong', and there can never be too much of it is the Tale point of view. 'But if you eat too much of the other things they spoil your belly'.[1]

The preparation of porridge is very simple. Flour is not preserved

[1] A Tale friend enquired what kind of food he would be given in our country, and when told that he would eat meat, fish, bread, and eggs, he exclaimed, 'What, no porridge? I call that starvation.'

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

241 inches of soil. Because of the haphazard method of planting, great care has to be exercised not to damage the young plants. The work is tedious; and the grain stores at this season of the year are [461] at their lowest (9); seldom is a man prepared to work for more than two or three hours at a time, and the maximum area cultivated in a day is about $\frac{1}{10}$th acre. Hoeing is started near to the compound and works outward; by the time the bush farm is reached the crops there are almost choked with weeds, and commonly they receive a set-back in their early stages from which they never recover. A farmer fortunate enough to have a good supply of [476] grain may call his neighbours to assist with hoeing, in exchange for food and "dam" (Nankani), the local guinea corn beer. Or [273] farmers may take turn about to work on each others' farms. In a few cases labour is hired and paid money wages.

243 On land where early millet is planted it is usual to give three hoeings; two before harvesting early millet, and a final one to earth-up the late cereal afterwards. Land planted with a single cereal, guinea corn or late millet, is generally hoed only twice; or, in the case of some bush farms on the hills, once only.

Harvesting, Methods and Times.

241 Early millet is the first crop to be harvested, at the end of June or beginning of July, having occupied the ground for about 243 80 days. When mature, this crop is from 5 to 7 feet high; at this stage the interplanted late cereal is 3 to 4 feet high, and ground-crops are beginning to make a cover. It is common to pluck a few heads "green" for immediate consumption, but the grain is allowed to harden before the main harvest. During this period birds become a serious pest; children spend the day scaring them and women carry rattles, made from pieces of broken pottery threaded on to a thin stick.

The heads of millet are cut off at the neck by men using short knives, and women carry the crop in baskets to the compound to [242] dry. The best heads are selected for seed; second grade heads are stored, unthreshed, in a granary (see diagram by Muir and Williams (4)) and threshed as required for use. Poor heads—"konkoni" (Nankani)—are boiled, threshed, and stored in pots; this grain is used for thickening soups. When all the early millet 252 heads have been gathered, women pull up the remains of the plants and transport them to a flat rock, where they burn them slowly to obtain the ash, which is carefully collected in pots. The ash